

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T ANKARA 8195

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TU, CY

SUBJ: DELIVERY OF SECRETARY'S ORAL MESSAGE TO CAGLAYANGIL

REF: (A) STATE 259585 (B) ANKARA 8152

1. FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL INTERRUPTED BUSY SCHEDULE TO RECEIVE ME LATE AFTERNOON NOVEMBER 4 IN ORDER THAT I COULD PRESENT SECRETARY'S LATEST MESSAGE (REF A). FONMIN READ MESSAGE THROUGH, PAUSING A NUMBER OF TIMES IN ORDER TO HAVE KEY PASSAGES TRANSLATED INTO TURKISH. PERHAPS BECAUSE OF HIS HEAVY RECENT SCHEDULE (VISITS OF SHAH AND SAUVAGNARGUES, REOPENING OF PARLIAMENT), THE FONMIN SEEMED SOMEWHAT FATIGUED AND HIS EXASPERATION QUOTIENT APPEARED LOWER THAN USUAL. FOR EXAMPLE, WHEN HE CAME TO THE PORTION OF THE SECRETARY'S MESSAGE WHICH READ "THE GREEK SIDE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THE TURKISH POSITION DEFINED IN TERMS OF PERCENTAGES OR LINES ON A MAP," HE INTERRUPTED TO SAY IN A RAISED VOICE, "ARE THEY CRAZY?" THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY A DISSERATION IN WHICH CAGLAYANGIL REPEATED MORE THAN ONCE THAT EVERYONE HAD TO GET IT THROUGH THEIR HEADS THAT TURKEY WAS NOT REPEAT NOT TO ANNOUNCE IN ADVANCE THE PROPORTION OF TERRITORY IT WAS GOING TO GIVE UP. BECAUSE OF HIS AGITATION, I HAD SOME DIFFICULTY IN GETTING THE FONMIN TO FOCUS ON THE FACT THAT THE SECRETARY WAS NOT REPEAT NOT IN THIS MESSAGE ASKING FOR ANY SUCH THING.

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2. WHEN HIS READING OF THE SECRETARY'S MESSAGE

WAS COMPLETED, CAGLAYANGIL DICTATED A LENGTHY STATEMENT IN TURKISH TO THE NOTETAKER CONCERNING THE BASICS OF TURKEY'S CURRENT STANCE VIS-A-VIS CYPRUS. AS SOON AS HE HAD FINISHED DICTATING THESE NOTES, IN TURKISH, HE ASKED HIS NOTETAKER TO TRANSLATE THEM. HOWEVER, HE ASKED ME NOT TO TAKE NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION AS HE WISHED TO REVIEW BOTH THE SECRETARY'S INCOMING MESSAGE AND HIS OWN OFF-THE-CUFF REPLY MORE CAREFULLY BEFORE HE TRANSMITTED THE LATTER TO ME FOR RETRANSMISSION TO THE SECRETARY. AS THE TRANSLATION OF HIS REMARKS WAS BEGINNING, THE TELEPHONE RANG AND CAGLAYANGIL EXCUSED HIMSELF, SAYING THAT GENERAL SANCAR (TURKISH CHIEF OF STAFF) WAS ASKING TO SEE HIM. HE SUGGESTED THAT I REMAIN IN HIS OFFICE WHILE THE TRANSLATION WAS COMPLETED.

3. AS HE GOT UP TO LEAVE, I WALKED TO THE DOOR WITH HIM AND SAID THAT, ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT, I WANTED HIM TO KNOW THAT THE OPENING TURKISH POSITION IN THE DEFENSE COOPERATION DISCUSSIONS HAD CAUSED CONSIDERABLE CONCERN IN WASHINGTON. "WHY?" HE ASKED, "IT IS BASED ON PRINCIPLES THAT ARE EASILY UNDERSTOOD." HE SAID THIS WITH A GRIN AS HE WAS GOING OUT THE DOOR. I SAID THAT BECAUSE OF THE OBVIOUS PRESSURES ON HIS SCHEDULE AT THE MOMENT, I WOULD NOT PURSUE THIS SUBJECT FURTHER NOW, BUT THERE WAS, I EMPHASIZED, A SERIOUS PROBLEM AND I WOULD NEED TO TALK TO HIM ABOUT IT LATER.

4. I THEN SAT DOWN WITH THE INTERPRETER AND WENT OVER CAREFULLY THE REST OF CAGLAYANGIL'S DICTATED REACTION TO THE SECRETARY'S MESSAGE. CAGLAYANGIL BEGAN SERIATIM BY THANKING THE SECRETARY FOR HIS MESSAGE; NOTING CYPRUS WAS A SERIOUS PROBLEM; AND OBSERVING THAT THE GREEKS WERE "INTRIGUERS WHO LOVED TO PLAY GAMES." HE THEN REPEATED THAT THE TURKS WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT MAKE ANY UNILATERAL DECLARATION THAT THEY WERE PREPARED TO RELINQUISH TERRITORY. MOREOVER, HE SAID, "THE SITUATION WITH OUR COALITION PARTNERS AND WITH THE OPPOSITION MEANS THAT WE CANNOT TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO DISCUSS TERRITORIAL MATTERS." ECEVIT, HE SAID, HAD ASKED HIM THIS MORNING, "WHY DO YOU KEEP ASKING THE GREEKS TO SAY WHAT THEY WANT IN THE WAY OF TERRITORY? WHY DO YOU ASK THEM TO ASK US TO MAKE GIFTS?" THE RESULT OF THIS SITUATION, CAGLAYANGIL WENT ON TO SAY, WAS THAT NOT ONLY WAS TURKEY UNABLE TO SUGGEST PUBLICLY THAT IT WOULD MAKE TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS BUT HE, CAGLAYANGIL, WAS IN NO POSITION TO ASK EITHER DIRECTLY OR

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THROUGH INTERMEDIARIES FOR THE GREEKS' STATEMENT OF TERRITORIAL REQUIREMENTS.

5. HAVING SAID THIS, CAGLAYANGIL NEVERTHELESS WENT ON TO STRESS THAT THE POSITION THAT HE HAD GIVEN TO ME EARLIER REMAINED TURKEY'S POSITION; NAMELY, THAT (A) THE TURKISH SIDE IS PREPARED TO RESUME INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS, AND THAT (B) IF THE GREEK SIDE IN THOSE TALKS MADE

CLEAR ON WHAT CONDITIONS THEY WOULD ACCEPT BIZONALITY, A WEAK
CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, AND EQUAL PARTICIPATION OF THE TWO
COMMUNITIES -- AND THESE CONDITIONS INCLUDED TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENTS

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THEN THE TURKS WOULD BE READY TO DISCUSS TERRITORIAL ISSUES.

6. COMMENT: EVEN THOUGH THE FOREGOING IS NOT CAGLAYANGIL'S
CONSIDERED RESPONSE TO THE SECRETARY, I PASS IT ON BECAUSE THIS
SPONTANEOUS REACTION REFLECTS (A) HIS SENSITIVITY TO
PRESSURE (EVEN IN A MESSAGE CLEARLY DESIGNED TO BE
SUBSTANTIALLY DEVOID OF PRESSURE) AND (B) THE VERY CIRCUMSCRIBED
AREA OF MANEUVER THAT THE TURKISH DOMESTIC POLITICAL SCENE ALLOWS HIM.

I THINK THE RESPONSE THAT WILL BE TRANSMITTED TO ME TOMORROW
WILL BE MORE MEASURED THAN HIS WORDS (AND PARTICULARLY HIS
MOOD) WERE TODAY, BUT I DOUBT THAT IT WILL BE ALTERED MUCH IN
ITS ESSENTIALS. HOWEVER, UNTIL WE GET THAT "CLEARED" STATEMENT,
WE SHOULD CONSIDER THAT THE SECRETARY'S MESSAGE REMAINS
UNANSWERED.

7. AS SUGGESTED REF B, CAGLAYANGIL HAS PRETTY WELL RUN OUT OF
RUNNING ROOM HERE. FURTHER EFFORTS BY THE US TO
OBTAIN A MORE FORTHCOMING CYPRUS POSITION, THEREFORE, ARE LIKELY TO BE

COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. INSTEAD WE SHOULD NOW RESERVE OUR MAIN EFFORT
FOR GETTING THE TURKS TO DISPLAY REASONABLE FLEXIBILITY
ON TERRITORY AND OTHER ISSUES ONCE THE TALKS BEGIN. IN THE
MEANTIME, I WOULD HOPE THAT WE WOULD URGE THE GREEKS -- NOW THAT
THE TURKS HAVE SAID THEY WILL COME BACK TO THE TALKS (A) WITHOUT
PRECONDITIONS AND (B) WITH AGREEMENT TO TALK ABOUT ALL ASPECTS
OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, INCLUDING TERRITORY -- TO GO TO THE TABLE
TO FIND OUT WHETHER OR NOT GREEK CYNICISM AS TO HOW THE TURKS
WILL PERFORM THERE IS VALID.

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